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## PUEBLO INDIAN CLANS

## F. W. HODGE

In the study of the Pueblo tribes of New Mexico and Arizona there is no subject of greater interest and importance than the clanship system of that people. Indeed, their genesis and early history are so closely interwoven with their clan divisions that investigation of the former would be practically impossible without a somewhat comprehensive knowledge of these clans. the incorporation or adoption of other tribal peoples by any given Pueblo tribe, we are apt to find that (1) the new people retain their old clan name but form a new clan in their adopted village: (2) are given an entirely new clan name as a body, or (3) are incorporated by a clan bearing the same name as that borne by the new people or to whom the latter are supposed to be related. With this in mind it is the intention to place on record the aboriginal and English names of the various clans which the writer was able to obtain during a reconnoissance of the pueblos of New Mexico in the summer and autumn of 1895. ence of many—it may be said most—of these clans has hitherto been unknown, while the native names of but very few of them have ever been published. Prof. Adolph F. Bandelier, however. has given us the translations of the names of a number of the Rio Grande pueblo clans, Dr Fewkes and the late A. M. Stephen have published the names of the Hopi and Tewa clans of the First Mesa of Tusayan, and to Mrs M. C. Stevenson we are indebted for the names of a number of clans of the pueblo of Sia.

The Pueblo tribes of New Mexico and Arizona embody four linguistic stocks—Tanoan, Keresan, Zuñian, and Shoshonean. The Tanoan stock is, or rather was, composed of five dialectal divisions—Tano, Tewa, Tiwa, Jemez, and Piro. Of these the Tano no longer maintain tribal relations; indeed, they are extinct as a tribe, but their descendants are scattered throughout the other pueblos, the greater number being at Santo Domingo, with whose inhabitants they have become thoroughly intermixed. The Tewa occupy the villages of San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Pojoaque, Nambe, Tesuque, and the pueblo of

Hano among the Hopi. The Tiwa, called by the Spaniards Tigua, live in the pueblos of Taos, Picuris, Sandia, and Isleta. The Jemez inhabit the single village of that name, in which the few surviving members of the kindred Pecos also dwell. The Piros, now almost completely Mexicanized, are found, intermixed with some Tiwa, at the villages of Senecú and Isleta del Sur, below El Paso, on the Rio Grande in Texas and Chihuahua. The population of the Tanoan stock (excluding the few remaining Piros, but including the pueblo of Hano) is 3,266.

The divisions of the Keres or Keresan stock occupy the pueblos of Acoma, Laguna, Sia, Santa Ana, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochití, and there is but slight dialectal variation in their language. The population of the Keres is 3,561.

The Zuñian stock comprises the solitary pueblo of Zuñi. They number 1,621.

The Pueblo representatives of the Shoshonean stock are the Hopi of northeastern Arizona, who occupy the towns of Sichumovi, Walpi, Mashongnavi, Shipaulovi, Shumopovi, and Oraibe. The population of these villages is 1,839.

The Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona therefore number 10,287. From the accompanying schedule it will be observed that of the Tewa pueblos San Juan has 19 clans (exclusive of three clans recorded by Bandelier, the past or present existence of which was emphatically denied to me by the Indians); Santa Clara, 15; San Ildefonso, 29; Nambe, 12 (including one extinct); Tesuque, 4 existing and 6 extinct, and Hano, 8 existing and 7 extinct. Of the Pojoaque there are only 19 surviving Indians, and of these but 5 are of full blood. The governor, Antonio Montoya, is almost pure Mexican. The condition of their affairs is such that the oldest inhabitant claims to have forgotten that they ever had a clan system.

The aggregate number of known clans in the Tewa villages, excluding the 3 given doubtfully by Bandelier, is 100, 14 of these being extinct. The population of the Tewa (exclusive of Pojoaque) is 1,110. Regarding the total number of existing clans as 86, the average number of natives forming a clan among the Tewa is 12.9. The average number of San Juan Indians

<sup>1</sup> No account of the clanship system of these villages is here given, since such would duplicate the excellent work of Dr J. Walter Fewkes and the late A. M. Stephen, already published.

to a living clan is 24.77; of Santa Clara, 15; San Ildefonso, 5.1; Nambe, 7.18; Tesuque, 22.75, and Hano, 20.12.

The Cloud clan is the only one which exists at all of these six Tewa villages. The Sun people is found at all but Nambe, where it has become extinct. The Calabash, Eagle, Earth, and Turkois clans are or have been common to five of the Tewa pueblos; the Coral, Corn, Firewood or Timber, Gopher, and Grass to four of them, while several clans are represented at three of the villages.

Of the Piros clans little or nothing is known, and of those of the Tiwa very little information could be gained. Fortunately, however, through Mr Charles F. Lummis, the well-known author—whose residence for many years at Isleta has gained for him and consequently for us an intimate knowledge of the customs, mythology, and traditions of the inhabitants of that village—we have learned the names of the 16 Isleta clans.

At Sandia and Picuris the existence of clans was persistently denied, but Mr Lummis assures me that there is no possible doubt that, at the former village at least, the clanship system prevails. Bandelier states that the Taos have 13 clans, six of which he mentions, but this investigator admits that his list is "neither complete nor absolutely reliable."

With respect to the Jemez and Pecos we are fortunately in possession of more complete information. The population of Jemez, including the two remaining full-blood Pecos, is 428, divided into 11 clans, in addition to a clan given by Bandelier as named from a flower of the genus dandelion, but the existence of which my Jemez informants denied. All of these clans, with the exception of the untraceable Dandelion, formerly existed at Pecos, and the latter people had also 7 other clans not now represented at Jemez. The average number of members of the Jemez clans is 38.9.

Of the Keres villages Laguna has 18 existing and 2 extinct or probably extinct clans; Acoma, 14 existing, 6 extinct, and 2 (Piñon-eater and Ivy) given by Bandelier of which no trace could be found; Santa Ana, 7; Sia, 16 existing (3 of which are almost extinct) and 21 extinct; San Felipe, 21 existing (3 of which are practically extinct), 9 extinct, and one (Ivy) given by Bandelier as dying out, but of which the writer could find no trace; Cochití, 12 existing (one of them almost extinct), 5

extinct, and 2 (Ivy and Mexican Sage) given by Bandelier but not traceable by the writer unless they occur under some other name. Of the Santo Domingo clans our information is due to Bandelier, who states that the village has the 18 clans common to the other Keres villages. During his brief visit to Santo Domingo the writer found it impossible to learn the names of these clans with accuracy, so that further investigation will be necessary.

The population of the Keres villages is 3,561, and exclusive of Santo Domingo (whose population is 671), 2,890. The total number of their existing clans (exclusive of Santo Domingo, but including the others given doubtfully by Bandelier) is 93, making the average membership of each Keres clan 31.07. On the same basis the average number of individuals to a clan in Laguna is 63.5; Acoma, 40.43; Santa Ana, 36.14; Sia, 6.62; San Felipe, 25.18; Cochití, 6.15.

From the accompanying table it will be seen that, omitting Santo Domingo from our calculation, the Corn clan is the only one represented at all the Keres villages, although the Eagle and Turkey peoples have been common to all of them, but have become extinct at Cochití. The Bear, Sun, Coyote, Antelope, Oak, and Fire clans are or have been represented in five of the six villages; the Rattlesnake, Water, Parrot, Turkois, Road-runner (also called Chapparal Cock and Pheasant), Calabash or Squash, Mountain Lion, and Ivy in four of the towns, and the Earth, Ant, and Dove in three. Several clans are also common to two pueblos of this stock.

Zuñi has 13 clans, as determined by Mr F. H. Cushing, and a tribal population of 1,621. The average number of individuals in a Zuñi clan is therefore 124.69.

## NATIVE NAMES OF THE CLANS

Ant.—Nambe,  $Ku^n yi-tdóa$ ; Pecos, Amú'+; Acoma,  $Sii-hánoq^{ch}$ ; Sia, Sii-háno; San Felipe, Sii-háno.

Antelope.—San Ildefonso, Ton-tdóa; Isleta, T'am-t'aínin; Laguna, Kŭr'tsi-hánoch; Acoma, Kŭr'ts-hánoqh; Sia, Kŭ'ts-háno; San Felipe, Kúuts-háno; Cochití, Kŭ'ts-hánuch.

Arrow.—Sia, İshtówa-háno; San Felipe, İsh'to-háno.

Axe.—Given by Bandelier as existing at Taos; native name unknown.

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TABLE SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF PUEBLO CLANS

B, signifies that the clan name is given by Bandelier; ex, signifies that the clan is extinct; 1, almost extinct; 2, probably extinct; 3, probably identical with the Gopher clan; 4, see also Tree; 5, see also Firewood or Timber.

- BADGER.—San Juan, Kéya-tdóa; Santa Clara, Keä-tdóa; San Ildefonso, Kéa-tdóa; Jemez, Sonsaásh; Pecos, Soʻhl; Laguna, Chópï-háno<sup>ch</sup>; Sia, Tyúpi-háno; Zuñi, Tónashi-kwe.
- Bear.—San Juan and Nambe, Ke-tdón; Hano, Ké-tówa; Pecos, Whalatdásh; Laguna, Kohaía-háno<sup>ch</sup>; Acoma, Küwhaía-hánoq<sup>ch</sup>; Sia, Kohaí-háno; San Felipe, Kóhai-háno; Cochití, Kúhaia-hánuch; Zuñi, Aíñshi-kwe.
- Bluebird.—San Ildefonso, Se-tdóa.
- Buffalo.—San Ildefonso, Kóo-tdóa; Pecos, Tâshtyë'+; Acoma, Moshaích-hánoqth; Sia, Mushä'ch-háno.
- Calabash.—San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambe, and Tesuque, Po-tdóa; Jemez, Wöhätsa-ásh; Pecos, Wa'-ha'-há'; Acoma, Tányï-hánoqeh; Sia and San Felipe, Tányï-háno; Cochití, Tanyi-hánuch.
- CHAPPARAL COCK or ROAD-RUNNER.—Laguna, Shiáska-hánoch; Acoma, Shásk'-hánoqch; Sia, Chösh'ka-háno; San Felipe, Sösh'ka-háno; Zuñi, Póye-kwe.
- CLOUD.—San Juan and Santa Clara, Oquwa-tdóa; San Ildefonso, Okuwa-tdóa; Nambe, Owhü-tdóa; Tesuque, Owhát-tdóa; Hano, Ókuwa-tówa; Jemez, Wâhätsa-ásh; Pecos, Wâ'häh +; Sia, Hë'nüti-háno.
- Coral.—San Juan,  $Kopi^n$ -tdóa; Santa Clara, Kupi-tóda; San Ildefonso,  $Kupi^n$ -tdóa; Tesuque,  $Kupi^n$ -tdóa; San Felipe, Yáscha-háno (Coral bead).
- Corn.—San Juan, Kún-tdóa; Santa Clara, Khún-tdóa; Hano, Kulon-tówa; Jemez, Kyunutsa-ásh; Pecos, Kyunu'+; Sia and San Felipe, Yáka-háno; Santa Ana, Yak'-háno; Cochití, Yák'a-hánuch; Zuñi (Corn or Seed), Tá'a-kwe.
- CORN (BLACK).—San Ildefonso, Kunfetdi-tdóa.
- Corn (Blue).—San Ildefonso, Ku<sup>n</sup>tsoa-tdóa; Isleta, Íeshur-t'aínin; Acoma, Kŭ'ishköshyáka-hánoq<sup>ch</sup>.
- Corn (Brown).—Acoma, Kŭ'isht'tiyáka-hánoqeh.
- CORN (RED).—San Ildefonso,  $Ku^n pi-tdóa$ ; Isleta, İefe'u-t'ainin; Acoma, Kü'kanïs' hyáka-hánoq'a; Laguna, Kü'kinishyáka-háno'a.
- CORN (SWEET).—San Ildefonso, Kunaii-tdóa.
- Corn (white).—San Ildefonso, Ku<sup>n</sup>tsä-tdóa; Isleta, Íebathút'aínïn; Acoma, Kŭséshyáka-hánoq<sup>ch</sup>.
- Corn (Yellow).—San Ildefonso, Kuntsei tdóa; Isleta, Íechürt'aínin; Acoma, Kóchinishyáka-hánoqen; Laguna, Kóchinishyáka-hánoen.

- Cottonwood.—San Juan, Santa Clara, and San Ildefonso, Te-tdóa; Cochití, Ï'traháni-hánuch.
- COYOTE.—San Juan, San Ildefonso, and Tesuque, Dé-tdóa; Jemez, Yurtsaá; Pecos, Ya'+; Laguna, Tsŭshki-hánoch; Sia, Shútsun'-háno; San Felipe, Shrótsona-háno; Santa Ana, Shutsón-háno; Cochití, Shrútsuna-hánuch; Zuñi, Súski-kwe.
- Crane or Heron.—Hano, Kapúlo-tówa; Sia, Shúta-hano; Zuñi, Kâ'lokta-kwe.
- Crow.—Jemez, Kyialish; Pecos, Kyia'hl+; Sia, Schira-háno; San Felipe, Schilrá-háno.
- Dance-Kilt.—Sia, Wáshpa-háno; Cochití, Wáshpa-hánuch.
- Deer.—Santa Clara, Pä-tdóa; San Ildefonso, Pä<sup>n</sup>-tdóa; Isleta, Pim-t'ainin; Pecos, Pa'+; Sia and San Felipe, Dyáni-hano; Zuñi, Shóhoita-kwe.
- Dove.—Sia, Hóhoka-háno; San Felipe, Húuka-háno; Santa Ana, Hóoka-háno.
- Duck.—San Felipe, Waiushr-háno.
- Eagle.—San Juan (given by Bandelier); Santa Clara and Tesuque, Tse-tdóa; San Ildefonso and Nambe, Tsë-tdóa; Isleta, Shíu-t'aínin; Jemez, Sehtsa-ásh; Pecos, Seé+; Laguna, Tyámi-hánoch; Acoma, T'yámi-hánoqch; Sia, San Felipe, and Santa Ana, D'yámi-háno; Cochití, Dyámi-hánuch; Zuñi, K'yák'yali-kwe.
- EAGLE (PAINTED).—San Juan, Sepin-tdóa.
- Earth or Sand.—San Juan and Santa Clara, Na-tdóa; Nambe and Tesuque, Nan-tdóa; Hano, Náñ-tówa; Isleta, Núm-t'aínïn; Jemez, Dâ'át'hl+; Pecos, Daá'hl+; Laguna, Hátsi-hánoch; San Felipe, Háatsü-háno.
- FEATHER.—Given by Bandelier as existing at Taos; native name unknown.
- Fire.—San Ildefonso and Nambe, Pa-tdóa; Pecos, Fwahá; Acoma, Háka-hánoq<sup>ch</sup>; Sia and Santa Ana, Hákan-háno; San Felipe, Hákanyi-háno; Cochití, Hákanyi-hánuch.
- Firewood or Timber.—San Juan and Santa Clara, Pè-tdóa; San Ildefonso, Petdóa; Hano, Pè-tówa.
- FLOWER (red and white).—San Felipe, I'si-háno.
- FLOWER (genus Dandelion).—Given by Bandelier as existing at Jemez; native name unknown.
- Frog or Toad.—San Felipe, *Pë'rüka-háno*; Zuñi, *Ták'ya-kwe*. Goose.—Isleta, *Kúrnï-t'ainïn*.

GOPHER.—San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, and Tesuque, Dyé-tdoa.

GRASS.—San Juan, Nambe, and Tesuque, Tá-tdóa; Hano, Tá-tówa.

HAWK.—San Ildefonso, Kyungän-tdóa; Sia, Spía-háno.

HERB.—Hano, Pohúlo-tówa.

Humming-Bird.—San Felipe, Mitsr-hano.

Ivy.—Given by Bandelier as existing at Acoma, San Felipe, and Cochití; native names unknown; Sia, A'küch-háno.

KNIFE.—Given by Bandelier as existing at Taos; native name unknown.

LIZARD.—San Juan and San Ildefonso, Yé-tdóa; Laguna, Méyo-hanoch; Sia, Shkanátulu-háno.

MARTEN.—Given by Bandelier as existing at San Juan; possibly identical with the Gopher clan.

Mole.—Isleta, Chúrëhu-t'ainïn.

Moon.—Given by Bandelier as existing at San Juan; native name unknown; Sia and San Felipe, Táwash-háno.

Mountain Lion.—San Juan and San Ildefonso, Kän-tdóa; Nambe, Qën-tdóa; Isleta, Kim-t'aínën; Pecos, Shiañk'yá +; Laguna, Mókaiqch-hánoch; Sia and San Felipe, Mókaich-háno; Cochití, Móhkach-hánuch.

OAK.—Santa Clara, ——; Pecos, Gyuúnsh; Laguna, Hápai-hánoch; Acoma, Hápanyi-hánoqch; Sia, Hápan-háno; San Felipe, Hápanyi-háno; Cochití, Hápanyi-hánuch.

Parrot.— Isleta,¹———; Laguna, Sháwiti-hánoch; Acoma, Sháwiti-hánoqch; Sia and Santa Ana, Shô'witi-háno; San Felipe, Shô'wati-hano; Zuñi, Píchi-kwe (or Múla-kwe, Macaw).

Pegwood (?).—Sia, Chánatya-háno.

Pine.—Hano, Tényo-háno; Jemez, Kiotsaá; Pecos, K'ótsaä'.

Piñon.—Sia, Tyaía-háno.

Piñon-eater.—Given by Bandelier as existing at Acoma; native name unknown.

REINDEER.—Cochití, Kíshqra-hánuch.

SACRED DANCER (KACHINA).—Hano, Kachina-tówa.

SAGE (MEXICAN).—Given by Bandelier as existing at Cochití; native name unknown.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mr Lummis, to whom we are indebted for the native and English names of the Isleta clans, could not give the Tiwa name of the Parrot gens without reference to his notes, which at the time were inaccessible.

Salt.—Sia and San Felipe, Mina-háno.

SHELL (pink conch).—Hano, Kópeli-tówa.

SHELL BEAD.—San Ildefonso, Kwátsei-tdóa; Taos, given by Bandelier, native name unknown; Sia, Wápon-háno.

Shrub (Red top).—Zufi, Aiyaho-kwe.

SKY.—Acoma, Huwáka-hánogch.

SNAKE (RATTLE).—Laguna, Sqówi-háno<sup>ch</sup>; Acoma, Shqúwï-hánoq<sup>ch</sup>; Sia, Sqú-háno; Cochití, Shrúhwi-hanuch; Zuñi. Chítola-kwe.

SNAKE (WATER).—Laguna, Shŭ'rshka-hánoch.

STAR.—Sia, Shíkë-hano.

Stone.—San Juan, Na<sup>n</sup>-tdóa; San Ildefonso, K'u-tdóa; Hano, Ku-tówa; Sia, Yáünyi-háno.

Sun.—San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, and Tesuque,  $Ta^n \cdot td\delta a$ ; Nambe,  $Tan \cdot td\delta a$ ; Hano,  $Ta\tilde{n} \cdot towa$ ; Taos, given by Bandelier, native name unknown; Isleta,  $T'hur \cdot t'a\acute{n}\ddot{n}n$ ; Jemez,  $Petsa\acute{a}$ ; Pecos, Pe'+; Laguna,  $Ohsh\acute{a}hch-h\acute{a}no^{ch}$ ; Acoma,  $Os\acute{a}ch-h\acute{a}noq^{ch}$ ; Sia,  $Os\acute{a}ch-h\acute{a}no$ ; San Felipe,  $O'shach-h\acute{a}no$ ; Cochití,  $O'shach-h\acute{a}nuch$ ; Zuñi,  $Y\ddot{a}'tokya-kwe$ .

SWALLOW.—San Felipe, Sisika-háno.

Tobacco.—Nambe, Sä-tdóa; Hano, Sà-towa; Sia, Hámi-hano; San Felipe, Háami-háno; Zuñi, A'na-kwe.

TREE (birch?).—Nambe, Nána-tdóa.

TREE (spruce?).—San Ildefonso, Tse-tdóa.

Turkey.—Pecos, P'etdelŭ'+; Laguna, Tsi'na-hánoch; Acoma, Tsina-hánoqch; Sia, Tsi háno; San Felipe, Tsina-háno; Santa Ana, Tsinha-háno; Cochití, Tsi'n-hano; Zuñi, Tóna-kwe.

Turkois.—San Juan and Santa Clara, Kunyä-tdóa; San Ildefonso, Kunye-tdóa; Tesuque, Konyä-tdóa; Hano (Turkois earpendant), Kuyanwe-tówa; Isleta, Shurmúyu-t'aínin; Jemez, Sunkítsaá; Pecos, Suntí +; Laguna, Shuwimi-hánoch; Sia, Shíuwimi-háno; San Felipe, Shúwimi-háno; Cochití, Shúwhami-hánuch.

WATER.—San Juan and San Ildefonso, P'o-tdóa; Taos, given by Bandelier, native name unknown; Laguna, Síts-hánoch; Sia, Tsïts-háno; San Felipe, Tsits-háno; Acoma and Cochití, Tsíts-hánuch.

Water-pebble.—Isleta, P'áshir-t'aínin.

Willow.—Santa Clara, Yä'n-tdóa.

Wolf.—Isleta, Túim-t'ainin; Laguna, Kákhan-hanoch.

Yellow-wood.—Zuñi, Tá'hluptsi-kwe.